1: Burrows--199-200 (1947-48) Woleaians 1-2
116, 181 Ifalik

"What follows is a summary of the sentiments that stand out in the foregoing account of the culture of Ifalik. The list can not pretend to be exhaustive. For example, the sentiment centered about sexual fulfilment is not included, because the sexual life of the people of Ifalik is not included in this study; though the importance of this sentiment was suggested in discussing the absence of a wedding ceremony. Quite unintentionally, the sentiments listed fit the classic formulation of four fundamental human wishes by Thomas and Znaniecki in 'The Polish Peasant in America.' [200]

Seafaring

Seafaring is the object of a sentiment whose strength varies according to sex--being mainly a man's concern--and according to individual character. The importance of this sentiment to the people of Ifalik is attested in most of the foregoing chapters.. Canoe-building and navigation are the unrivalled high points of native technology. The principal way for a man to achieve status, as distinguished from inheriting it, is to become a palū or navigator. Another way, of somewhat lower rating yet by no means to be despised, is to become a sennap or masterbuilder of canoes. Some of the most elaborate myths validate or dignify the lore of navigation and canoe-building. The gods of navigation form a distinct group, equal in number to what I have called the 'high gods', and more clearly differentiated in function. Safety at sea is the object of a relatively rich collection of rituals and incantations.

The fundamental positive value in this sentiment is that of adventure or as Thomas and Znaniecki call it, new experience. Presumably it is enhanced by the negative value of monotony or boredom involved in staying at home. The restricted range of experience available on a tiny atoll is oppressively apparent to a visitor from afar. How keenly the natives feel it is hard to make out. One indication, though, is that the youths who loaf in the canoe-houses never tired of hearing and talking about foreign countries. Conversations turned so incessantly to this subject that my patience soon wore out. Spiro's far outlasted mine, but eventually he, too, began to steer clear of chatting with the youths in the canoe-houses. Moreover, this interest motivates more than talk. Within the limits of their capacity these people still love to roam and see the world.

The most powerful negative value in this sentiment is the fear of death at sea. This corresponds to the Thomas-Znaniecki wish for security. It is especially powerful in this culture because their vessels and knowledge of navigation, though admirable in a way, are far inferior to our matchless technology. The risk of seafaring is correspondingly greater. It is probably through fear of losing their menfolk, more than anything else, that women participate in this sentiment. The rituals and incantations for safety at sea are precautions that attest the strength of this fear among men, too. One of the great duties of beneficent gods is to roam the seas, looking for canoes that have gone astray, and bring them back to port."

28: Spiro--36[3]
116, 476, 181, 571

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"There are, however, other characteristics of communal labor, of a non-institutional character. The first thing that strikes the observer is the cammeraderie and esprit de corps that pervades the entire assembly. The people are cheerful and gay, and a festive spirit seems to hang over the activity. This spirit seems to be infectuous, everyone participating in the general gaiety. And when the men and women tug together on a rope, the spirit is almost hilarious. Observing the hoisting of a beam, I recorded in my field notes of December 10, that 'the men and women now hoist the beam, and there is a tremendous conglomeration of screaming, shouting, yelling, and laughing.'"

28: Spiro--37
116, 476, 533, 181, 571

(1947-48) 1949

Woleaians
Ifalik

"This spirit of good-fellowship characterizes even the minor cooperative work, such as the carrying of a canoe from the beach into the canoe-house. They seem to view it as fun, as a lark. This convivial spirit is accompanied by another, institutionalized pattern. That is, all heaving, pulling, and carrying jobs, are performed by the accompaniment and rhythm of a shanty. One man takes the leadership and shouts a line of the shanty in a sing-song voice, and then the others repeat the line after him, while they heave at the rope, or pull the canoe. The shanty expedites the work, by offering the men a rhythm by which to work, as well as by providing amusement for their work."

28: Spiro--44 [3] (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians
116, 421, 181 Ifalik

"It is important to understand that the natives adopt a very pragnatic attitude towards this property. It is desired for use, not for prestige or 'conspicuous consumption.' Thus, though in economic terms they possess wealth, in psychological and cultural terms, they possess only property, and they aspire to property and to possessions, not to wealth, in the abstract. What is respected, therefore, is not mere possession, but rather the skills that enable one to possess, by creation."

28: Spiro--92-93 (1947-48) 1949 Woleaians-1,2
116, 854, 833, 181 Ifalik

"It may be asked whether the infant observes parental intercourse. Theoretically, the answer is no, since the parents are prohibited from having intercourse till the baby can walk. Whether this taboo is observed is, as has already been indicated, a moot point. However, there are a number of other people sleeping in the same house, and though it is pitch dark in the house, particularly within the mosquito netting, it is possible that the infant might observe the copulation of other members of the household, or at least hear the sounds from within a particular net, but this is a point on which I have no evidence. There is abundant tertiary evidence, however, which indicates that the infants (and children) do not observe intercourse. It is to be emphasized that the Ifaluk are a very puritanical people, and react with horror at the thought of having their genitals exposed in the presence of members of the same sex. When emerging from the lagoon after bathing, for example, the men cover their genitalia with their hands, though they are remote from any women. Parents do not permit children to see them nude, whether their own children or others. They do not conceal their nakedness from tiny infants, however, since the infant is still [93] a 'fool boy.'

The shame of physical exposure is not intensified in the case of any practice. The shame of being observed in the act of copulation would be almost too great to bear. Should an adult inadvertently see a couple having intercourse, the man will pledge him to silence with an offer of a gift. ('I give you a present; you no tell people, bout ashamed

too much.'). And this fear of exposure extends to infants as well. Should an infant observe a person in the act of intercourse, he would be as ashamed, as if it were an adult. When I asked if the shame extended to the parent's own infant, the immediate reply was that this was a purely hypothetical problem since the taboo on parental intercourse during the infancy of the child would automatically prevent this eventuality."

29: Spiro--203 (1947-48) 1950 Woleaians
116, 159, 121, 181, 865 Ifalik

"The Ifaluk ethos is characterized by the ethic of nonaggression in interpersonal relations. Peace, cooperation, mutual aid--positively--and the inhibition of all aggression --negatively--are the basic values of Ifaluk culture. Furthermore, this culture is so patterned as to evoke a minimum of, if any, aggressive, arrogant, or competitive behavior. Given its cultural values, its culture pattern, and the effectiveness of its socialization process--it is little cause for wonder that there has not been one case of theft, robbery, rape, homicide, suicide, or domestic strife in the society--at least in the memory of any of the natives. Nor did the ethnographers witness any during their seven-month study. Since the culture neither permits nor evokes hostile or aggressive behavior in interpersonal relationships, it has evolved no techniques by which an individual, finding himself in such a situation, could come to terms with it. Only aggressive experiences of childhood are provided with cultural responses. Furthermore, a culture pattern which, in effect, elicits little aggression in adult life, has, as one of its consequences, the creation of personalities marked by a low threshold of frustration-tolerance. (23)"

"23. See Saul Rosenzweig, 'An Outline of Frustration Theory'; in J. McV. Hunt, ed., Personality and the Behavior Disorders; New York, Ronald Press, 1944."

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

114 of the wooden packing boxes were converted into sets of shelves. The
123 cases of food were piled along the sides in the back part of the house, which became the kitchen area, cozily walled with cartons of sliced peaches and spam.

There was an altar in the back part of the Fan Nap that was a con-
178 stant mental hazard because we did not want to offend the local people
353 by desecrating this shrine with profane objects. The altar was a ramshackle affair, contrasting strongly with the usual Ifalukian workmanship, and this may have indicated that it was not taken very seriously; but we wanted to run no risk of giving offense. There was a large chest there, too, which we judged to be a sort of depository for the appurtenances of government. Among other things, the American flag was stored in the chest, to be hauled out and attached to a pole on the lagoon shore when a ship was sighted.

There was another sacred touch to the Fan Nap—a phallus attached
83 to the main front center post and pointing out across the lagoon. The
178 phallus, which pointed westward toward Woleai, the nearest neighboring atoll, commemorated an event of Ifaluk legend—or history. The story was one of violence and conquest and seemed curiously anomalous in the Ifalukian folklore, contrasting as it did with the present com-
[181] pletely non-aggressive and peaceful character of the people. Ted thought that it might reflect memories of an actual conquest by the people of Ifaluk of earlier inhabitants of the neighboring atolls. Maur,
[173] the main character in the legend, was certainly the "culture hero" of the people of the island.

The phallus did not seem to be the object of any special veneration or cult—it was just there. Once, later in the summer, when we were trying to explain the money system of the United States, we were questioned about the portrait heads on the coins. Don explained Washington and Lincoln as long-dead "chiefs" thus commemorated.

Yani got the idea at once. "Ifaluk have picture of dead chief, too,"
[169] he said, grinning, as he pointed toward the phallus of Maur on the Fan Nap.

132 The weather continued to interfere with the starting of field work. Friday it rained almost continuously all day—and of course the rain

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

The households varied greatly in size, from one which included only one old man and one old woman, to another (Falepenach) which had twenty-six persons. The household system was matrilineal, and when a man married he moved into the household to which his wife belonged. In the matter of what belonged to which household, a man generally seemed to know much more about the household of his mother than about the household of his wife, even though he had been living in the latter for many years. There was considerable informal movement among the households—people sometimes eating and sleeping regularly in a household to which they didn't really "belong"—which introduced a considerable element of confusion into the census making. This informality plus clan relationships and other family ties meant that labor was not strictly apportioned by household—the two old people who officially represented the smallest household were as well looked after as old people would be in a household with numerous members. Everyone really "belonged" to the whole island.

This matter of "belonging" had been on my mind ever since reading that thought-provoking short novel by Carson McCullers, *Member of the Wedding*. The "security" of the children of Ifaluk impressed us from the very beginning. Every child was a member not only of a family and a household, but of the whole island society. A child crying would be comforted by the nearest adult. Curiously, the children, though "secure", were far from obnoxious—in fact it would be difficult to imagine a more delightful bunch of kids. The "sibling rivalry" that seems to plague every American household was conspicuous by its absence—the mannerly, non-aggressive character of Ifaluk society extended even to the five-year-olds.

The security of the children of Ifaluk is probably still further increased by the widespread system of adoption. Ted found that over a third of the children of the island had been "adopted" by couples who were not their biological parents. When a couple for some reason wish another child, they go to a pregnant woman (who must be of the clan of either the adopting father or adopting mother) and ask if they may adopt the child when it is born. The request, it is said, is never refused. The adopting mother goes to the birth house with the real mother—all children are born in a special house, which is taboo to men—and stays there while the baby is born. The biological mother keeps the baby

41: Bates & Abbott N-5 (1953) 1958
OR21 Woleai OR21
Ifaluk

123 my necklace every third day, when it came my turn. Presently they were given necklaces, too, and then we could all be properly ornamented all the time!

123 177 Don kept on with the regular English lessons. He wrote a journal entry about one evening when Yani had brought a simple English reader from the school supplies and wanted to know the meanings of some of the words—believe, would, parade, party (that was easy), Halloween, conversation, as, think, exactly. Don felt he did nicely—all his teaching instincts came to the fore. He consulted me once or twice, but this obviously would lead only to an argument that would leave the English lesson suspended indefinitely—"exactly" was perfect for an Abbott-Bates argument. Its meaning could hardly be touched on without previous exploration of the nature of reality and the perceptions of the observer, and once this was started, "exactly" could never be reached again. So Yani got only the Abbott interpretations of meaning.

181 There seemed to be little trouble about the explanations, and this set Don to thinking about the nature of "savages." According to Ted, these people of Ifaluk had had the least contact with the West of any of the Pacific islanders—only the people of central New Guinea being comparable. Thus, by common Western standards, they would be classed as "savages"—in fact, as "naked savages." Yet, Don argued, these are really highly sophisticated people, so startlingly like Westerners that it was sometimes hard to remember that there were any differences at all. He was particularly impressed by their sense of humor, which [502] seemed to differ not at all from his own. They laughed at his jokes when they understood them, as he did at theirs. Humor that didn't cross the cultural barrier seemed to be associated either with the double meanings of language, or with cultural traits that were not shared. Don wrote these impressions in his journal—from which I am cribbing.

535 533 After the English session, we all went to watch dancing on Falalap. We took the BWUP and rowed over in the dark, settling down under the palms near a fire of dry coconut leaves. The women were sitting in a line, making slow movements of arms, torso and head to the pace of a slow, low-pitched song that mostly hung on one note, but oc-